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This endogamic principle will be described in greater detail in vol. I, chap. VII, but mention of it here has been necessary to explain the composition of the ancestral family.

In recent years there has been a tendency for some men to marry foreign women in order that they, or their children, might obtain new prerogatives. Thus a trend towards exogamy has arisen from the same reason which is supposed to have caused endogamy. The offspring of such marriages cannot enjoy the feeling of strength and comfort that comes from the membership of both parents in the same ancestral family, but some individuals have felt that this was offset by the gain of highly desirable foreign prerogatives. It is said that this practice was initiated by a certain *Patlas*, father of a man about sixty years old in 1923. White influence probably had nothing to do with this radical innovation, although its wide adoption has been made more easy by the establishment of peaceful conditions on the coast.

Strong as is the belief in a common ancestry, it is unlikely that this would have sufficed to hold together the members of the ancestral family, without some definite prerogatives. These are of two kinds: names and land.

NAMES

The fundamental principle governing Bella Coola nomenclature is that each name must have originated in connection with some event of comparative importance. It is unthinkable to apply a casual designation to a child. At a person's death his name, or names, may be transmitted to a relative, and it is proper that the owner of a name should know when, by whom, and for what reason, it was first created. Tradition affirms that, before coming to this earth, the first people were all given designations by *Alquntăm*; these have been carefully handed down and are still in use. One name cannot be given to two individuals; instances occur of two people having the same one, but in such cases they have different origins. One person may have several names of different kinds, each carrying

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597 736 Ignorant of his ancestral names, and lacking the means to validate them even if someone should tell them to him, owing no hunting-grounds, the unfortunate infant is little better than a slave. This is almost unthinkable except in the extremely rare contingency of a child being left without relatives.

Although public opinion does not impel kindly treatment to orphans left without kindred, yet many Bella Coola have charitable dispositions and it is not unknown for a family to adopt and tend an infant without reason or hope of reward. One old man mentioned how his mother and a Chilkotin child had been born on the same day when a party of the latter had been encamped near *Nuxalst*. A few days later they left for the interior, abandoning the infant. The grandfather of the old man chanced to pass their camp while the ashes of their fire were still warm and found the baby, whom he brought back, to be a brother to his own daughter. His wife suckled the two, giving each a breast, and treating the foundling as her own. When the boy grew into manhood, he went back to his own people, but never forgot his adopted parents. Forty years later he visited Bella Coola, bringing with him his own wife and family. The old man who related this incident recalled the manner in which the Chilkotin had instructed his children to regard him as their brother.

547 [768] Children are not the only persons to be adopted. On the death of an adult his relatives may "adopt to replace" someone who has a striking facial resemblance to the deceased. Thus, some time after the death of his sister, a certain man saw in Bella Bella and saw a Bella Bella woman who closely resembled her. He desired to adopt her, and since he was a man of importance, his wish was granted. To legalize the transaction [431] he distributed valuable presents among the Bella Bella. A person so adopted does not usually change his abode, nor does [401] he lose membership in his own family; instead, he becomes a [839] member of two, with full rights to names and prerogatives in both, is addressed with the same kinship terms as if related by blood, and is likewise considered a member of the family as far as incest rules are concerned

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556 A man who is giving a ceremony of any kind can offer few greater
583 insults to his wife's relatives than omission to ask their assistance. The
578 following is a good instance of such an insult:
602 About 1900 a man and woman were married and had three children. Then the mother died, before being repurchased from her husband. In addition, the husband had assisted his wife's father when one of his younger children had died; so that it was most fitting that the wife's relatives should contribute to any ceremony given by the husband. Four years later the husband proposed to marry once more, and to have the wedding occur at a potlatch. But on the day of *xlāxtnum*, he insulted the relatives of his dead wife by failing to invite them. The cause of the feud was not disclosed, but the husband increased it by again failing to invite her family when, during the potlatch, they should have rebought her for the benefit of his young relatives about to be initiated into the ranks of the *tsaok*. The father of the dead woman came forward uninvited with a large present for each, saying in effect:

"I, too, have a right to contribute to add prestige to my daughter and her children."

In this way he defeated the wiles of his son-in-law who had hoped to shame his father-in-law by the failure of the latter to contribute to his potlatch. The son-in-law endeavoured to excuse himself by saying that his late wife's relatives had not assisted for so long that he thought they would not wish to do so. This retort further incensed the father of the dead woman so that next day he and his wife publicly gave the donor of the potlatch $300 "to make clean where we sit."

This somewhat lengthy description has been necessary to explain the important part which the repurchase of wives plays in the lives of the Bella Coola; it is one of the fundamentals of society and is, therefore, worthy of attention.

DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

● 768 Either death or divorce can terminate marriage. The de-
[586] cease of a wife is an unfortunate affair, quite apart from the grief which it may cause her husband. Two families have been brought into peculiarly close relations through her, and now the bond itself has snapped; delicate financial arrangements have been undertaken, and it is not easy to settle these without ill-feeling, particularly if the alliance was a return marriage. If no child has been born, and no repurchasing of the wife

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carried out, her relatives are expected to return to her husband's family the goods received during the engagement and at the wedding. The matter is then settled. If the deceased has a younger sister, cousin, or other near relative, an effort is usually made to have this individual replace the dead wife.* No further goods are given, except perhaps a few to add dignity to the transference; the new wife merely replaces her dead sister and the bond between the two families continues unbroken. If the husband should die, his wife's relatives are considered honourable and endowed with the minds of chiefs if they restore to his relatives the presents which they have received. But if the wife can be remarried to one of his relatives, there is no need for this and the two families continue to enjoy the mutual strength acquired by the long period of engagement and exchange of benefits and presents.

If death takes place after the repurchasing of the wife, there is no need to return presents, since the rebuying has cancelled the expenditure by the husband. If children have been born and the woman has long become practically a member of her husband's family, she is buried by them as a matter of course, but should she die soon after marriage, her own family usually performs the obsequies.

With the passing of many years of married life, the repurchasing several times of the woman, and the birth of children, she becomes so much a member of her husband's family that his death seldom ends the arrangement. The widow is by no means a slave and usually is master of her own destiny, especially if she has children and has reached a position of eminence in the community. Since the desirability of preserving the bond between the two families is fully realized, it is accordingly customary for a widow to wed her husband's brother, or a husband his deceased wife's sister. But in each case the ritual of marriage and exchange of presents must be

*The native term emphasizes the fact that the new wife is virtually inherited by her husband.

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177 squatting, now it is customary to use the extended position.
764 It is impossible to state whether this is the direct result of white teaching, or whether the ease with which large boxes can now be made has led to interment at full length.

RITES FOLLOWING DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

968 Interment of the corpse does not end the ceremonial necessitated by a death in the community. As already described, some of the clothing and utensils of the dead person are burned during the funeral, but all are not destroyed at that time. The proportion kept for future treatment is immaterial, nor is there any established usage concerning the type of object reserved. During the days following the funeral, relatives of the deceased carefully gather his clothing, cooking utensils, rifles, and all other articles which have been his personal property or used exclusively by him. On the fourth day, these are taken to the cemetery by his immediate family, accompanied by as many of their friends as wish to show their sympathy. A fire is kindled near the grave and on it is deposited whatever can be burnt; other objects are either cast into the flames or piled near at hand (see Plate 17). It is most important that every article belonging to the deceased should be disposed of in this way. There are two reasons for this. First, it is considered indecent to use the possessions of a dead person; they would have the effect of poison on anyone doing so. Secondly, the ghost of the deceased receives goods that are burnt or deposited on the grave four days after the funeral. If deprived of what belongs to him, a ghost punishes the offenders by causing sickness.
[795] [753] 178 Occasionally a new rifle, or some other treasured possession,
768 is kept by a relative or friend; this is contrary to the established custom, but is justified by considering the article to be a gift from the deceased or a memento of him. No one would accept such a legacy unless he felt sure that the dead man

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entertained such kindly sentiments towards him that he would be glad to have his friend receive it.

In recent years the number of incombustible objects has increased enormously with the introduction of metal utensils, gramophones, and other things obtained from white traders. Although these are considered to be of use to the ghost, and must be carefully placed near the grave, they can be publicly exchanged for others by a relative. The sentiments expressed on such occasions are that the ghost, though aware of what is taking place, does not resent an open transfer; and that it is unnecessary to deposit the equivalent of what has been removed. There is undoubtedly a vague idea that the ghost uses, not the actual object, but its essence, which is received by the deposition. It must be emphasized that this feeling has not become crystallized to such a state that it is customary to replace goods laid on the grave with others. Such an exchange is a rare event and would cause animosity if carried out by anyone except a near relative.

Sometimes a dying person requests that a house be erected over his grave, a common Bella Bella custom. This is built immediately after the funeral and articles that cannot be burnt are placed within it instead of being piled on the ground. The sorrowing relatives may choose to erect a picket fence around the spot, but no other mark for the grave is put up until a memorial potlatch several years after death. House or fence soon falls into decay and rarely an effort is made to repair either. Nor is the grave itself disturbed. Cow-parsnips, which are much used for food, grow frequently in cemeteries, but no one would gather the shoots that rise above a grave; they are food belonging to the dead person. The white man has taught the Bella Coola how to plant apple-trees and these are often set out in graveyards, though the fruit is allowed to fall to the ground for the benefit of those interred beneath. The Bella Bella are said formerly to have replaced at intervals the coffin containing a dead person, but this seems never to have been a Bella Coola practice. Indeed, a grave is never

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Indeed, a grave is never
965 disturbed except, rarely, when it is necessary to obtain a
[789] portion of a skeleton for magical purposes. In such a case,
the coffin lid must be lifted up on the side away from the
[761] opener, so that he looks within over its upturned edge. A
person failing to obey this injunction will soon die.

•768 Burning or deposition near the grave is not restricted to the actual utensils and artifacts of the deceased. There, too, must be laid dried salmon which a man has smoked for winter use, as well as pulverized berries and other foods made ready
[764] by a woman; to eat food prepared by a dead person seems indescribably indecent. In recent years, the crop, if a man dies after tilling and sowing a field, is allowed to ripen, and then rot unharvested. So, too, the canoe in which a body has been brought home must be destroyed. The Bella Coola are not always able to state reasons for these actions, but it is
[761] apparent that the underlying sentiment is that the taboo of
[789] death lies upon any object prepared by the deceased, or that has been in contact with a corpse.

764 The rituals described above may be considered as religious
431 in nature; almost equally important are the social require-
556 ments of paying those who have assisted at a funeral. This
[617] indebtedness falls on the near relatives, though all members of the ancestral family are obligated in a somewhat indefinite manner. If a canoe has been destroyed that did not belong to the deceased, the owner must be recompensed. Presents must be given to the pall-bearers, to the woman who bore the flaming bark, to the grave-diggers, to those who delivered laudatory orations, and to all others who assisted in any way. Failure to do so brands the relatives as misers with little respect for the deceased; lavish recompense shows that they have the outlook and minds of chiefs. Consequently, even poor people try to give as generous rewards as possible, both for their own sakes and out of respect to the dead person. Unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain details of the ceremony at which this takes place. The increase in wealth in recent years has made it possible to give memorial potlatches soon after death

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769 sum being used for each name, and the bills were displayed
*556 before messengers carried them to the recipients.

Finally, Jim Pollard took the opportunity to bestow on
553 Captain Schooner the name, *Snanikáli*. This designation
425 was the property of the donor's ancestral family and should
[614] not have been transmitted without the consent of all its mem-
[622] bers. Jim had probably informed several of them of his intention, but no objections would have been raised if he had overlooked this courtesy, since he is the only *namáit* chief among them, and the only one with determination and prestige. It was not an outright gift, since it was announced that it must be returned to the donor's family on Captain Schooner's death. Jim Pollard acted as his own announcer for this transaction, explaining that he gave the name in gratitude for the help which Captain Schooner had rendered at the death of his, Jim's, father about twenty years before. He promised that at the earliest opportunity he would give presents to validate the transmission.

769 During the lengthy distribution of money, the audience had
*556 shown unmistakable signs of weariness. It was now between 2.00 and 3.00 A.M., and as soon as Jim had finished speaking the guests dispersed quietly, though many of them gathered in groups in one another's houses to discuss what had taken place.

Captain Schooner slept late after the lengthy ceremony, but was proud and contented when interviewed about noon. He felt that what was fitting for his daughter had been performed, and was willing to take the consequences of having broken the law.

●968 Little else of note occurred in connection with Jessie's funeral. Samuel King deposited near her grave a sewing-machine which his wife had used for only a short time and Captain Schooner decided to replace this with an older one belonging to his wife. He made this exchange on the afternoon of June 30, when Samuel, in company with a number of women, was burning the rest of Jessie's clothing and possessions. Captain Schooner explained his act by saying:

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"She was my daughter, I have a right to do as I like." 761

Samuel King and the others accepted the exchange as a matter of course and made no comments. Captain Schooner took no part in the burning of his daughter's goods, this being the task of those with whom she had been living, and who accordingly knew which were hers. The fire was kindled by a married daughter of Reuben Schooner, though it could have been done equally well by any woman. On the following morning, July 1, Samuel King went with a friend to the forest and passed four times through a small spruce sapling bent into an arch. This was the last incident in the funeral rites. 763 764

Fate of the Dead

SOUL OF THE DEAD

Little need be added to the account given in vol. I, chap. 11 of the fate of those parts of a man which go at death to *Nusmit'a*. The spirit and the life travel back the path of the deceased's ancestors from generation to generation until they reach the place where his first forefather came to earth and where his cloak, if he had worn one, floated back after his alteration to human form. When the spirit and the life of a descendant reach the spot, they change into a being having the form of the cloak, and so return to *Nusmit'a*. The spirit and the life of one who is a member of several ancestral families visit the localities where the transformations to human shape of all his ancestors occurred. The Bella Coola believe that these two elements can assume many great forms, but they do not know whether this entails the simultaneous assumption of many shapes to comprise a composite figure, or whether the spirit and the life, which become a single entity in the case of a member of one ancestral family, become multiple for one who is a member of several. When lamenting a dead person, mention is always made of the various scenes which he will have visited, and the forms he will have assumed. At a memorial potlatch, the deceased may return as a hybrid, or as 765

accustomed to do when alive, but the workmanship is shadowy and unsubstantial, sometimes even transparent. Ghosts do not act like human beings, but usually walk backwards, sometimes even on their hands, and spend much of their time playing a game resembling football with large, globular objects made of some light substance. They communicate with one another both by whistling and in a language which resembles the attempts at speech made by a stupid person. Some individuals believe that there is a supreme chief in the land of ghosts, *Alik'aiut*, who lives like Pluto to preside over the shades. His figure in certain stories describing journeys to the lower world; but many Bella Coola know nothing of his existence below, although it furnishes a plausible explanation for his coming by right to collect human beings. Like fourteen he causes blood to rush forth from the mouth and genitals of anyone whom he selects; death follows, and a new victim has been acquired for his kingdom. The most common belief is that the villages of ghosts here climb like those of human beings. It is thought, indistinctly, that after a long period of time the ghosts die, and some of them may then return to this world as infants. A child born with dimples in its cheeks, which are regarded as indications of previous beings for rings, is welcomed as the reincarnation of some unknown ancestor.

At death, the ghost does not immediately appear in the land below, but remains for four days within the back room of a house corresponding in style to an ordinary Bella Coola dwelling. It is believed that one of these large houses is to be found in every village* and that the dead pass straight down through the earth into it. Meanwhile the goods, burnt at the grave during the funeral, as well as those deposited beside it, have fallen through the ground and notified the ghosts that a newcomer has arrived. The weirdly assemble from all directions and fight over the articles, some of which are obtained by the one who owned them during life. On the fourth

*There may be one large house, extending beneath the world like Pluto's abode, it was impossible to obtain definite information on this point.

day after the funeral, the relatives of the dead person burn the remainder of his property, which passes through the earth to the ghost for whom it is intended. Ghost-singers have taken their places and begin to beat out music, and presently the recently deceased appears, stepping backwards from the back room in time to the beating of sticks. He is at once surrounded by his fellows, each anxious to learn the latest news of relatives still alive. This dance is really to welcome the new arrival, and takes place irrespective of his rank. After it has been held, it is hopeless to attempt to recall a dead person, although that has been done several times during the four days immediately succeeding death.

Only shamans are able to pass down into the land of the dead, though stories are told of inadvertent visits to it in relatively recent times. Human beings are prevented from visiting their dead relatives, but the latter, being supernatural, can come to the earth at will. They are always dreaded, and anyone who hears their whistling or their tongueless shouts crowds in his hearth and hopes they will pass by. Shamans can understand their speech and so learn the dead explain their mission. If the relatives of a dead person have failed to burn all his personal possessions, he returns to earth to inform them, through a shaman, of the omission. The house is accursed for anything left and it is burnt at once over the grave, though no one knows how a ghost would punish failure to give him his property. Thoughtful people, remembering the scarcity of food in the land below, frequently give presents to their dead relatives by casting small morsels of food on the side of the central fire nearest the front door, beneath which is a passage to the lower regions. The food becomes magnified as it falls down this, so that even small fragments are sufficient to feed many hungry ghosts. Since the introduction of metal stoves, it has become customary to throw food into a fire kindled for the purpose in the cemetery, the most suitable time is at dusk, although people are always afraid that spectres may be prowling around at that hour. If sufficient presents are not given

If the war had not been of long duration in which enormously [illegible]
bitter feelings had been aroused, captives were often ran-
somed by their relatives, who came armed for the purpose
when the laws of battle had subsided. Failing this, prisoners re-
mained as slaves, the children especially growing up virtually
as members of their owner's family so far as food and clothing
were concerned, though never sharing in the prowess of his
ancestral family. Torture or killing of prisoners seems to have
been a rare practice. One extremely old Kimaqais woman
related that in her childhood she had seen a captive crouched
out on the hot rocks at the side of the ocean, burned there,
his arms crushed with stones, and allowed to die. No other
similar traditions could be obtained and it seems probable that
this must have been an unusual case. It is true that hostilities
have long ceased, but the Bella Coola have clear recollections
of other long-abandoned customs, and it is unlikely that torture
was ever a common occurrence. It is, of course, one abuse
which outsiders are to be expected, but information would have
been obtainable if the custom had been common or if it had
been one which played an important part in the lives of the
Bella Coola.

Scalps were hung on a rack and dried like salmon, then [illegible]
suspended as valuable trophies in the taker's house. When [illegible]
setting out on a war expedition, he would often cover his head [illegible]
with one, holding it in position by weaving it into his hair. [illegible]
At a man's death, they were either inherited by his heirs as
were other, burnt with his other possessions. It is said that
the Fort Rupert people used to tie scalps in bundles to
their canoes. When the Bella Coola went to war to retaliate [illegible]
for a murder, instead of scalping a victim, they sometimes [illegible]
brought back his whole head and impaled it on a stake over [illegible]
the grave of the person avenged.

As this late period it is virtually impossible to form any [illegible]
opinion as to the amount of bloodshed in wars waged by the
Bella Coola. Several of the older people spoke in glowing
terms of the slaughter accomplished by their ancestors, but all